the means of escape; and I must presume, that conception of the process.

that part of our cotton and rice belongs to Suppose two millions exchanged them. Be it so. Whatever remains to us. and is rightfully ours, is subjected to the une qual system which I have above described .-Sir, it is put beyond all dispute, that the agricultural industry of the South is taxed, une qually, unjustly, enormously taxed in its for-

would be very apt to full in love with taxation | mount? and court the impositions of burthens? How Sir. I have done with this branch of the hands. Here are statements showing that the very mountain's base, and thence guiding the inquisition." pay in duties.

occasion taxed his ingenuity to provide us deavor to explain, however, very briefly, my summated, and we shall be cut off from a from a

tention, and that persevering industry, which successive step in the further progress of the our tonnage is reduced to one will for is essential to the success of manufacturing system would sink lower and lower the price hundred thousand; and, going still in establishments. It was but the other day, that of his cotton, until it was reduced to the very back, in the year 1800, our exports among some of our New England brethren got it in- lowest sum that they would pay the expense to eighty one millions, while now, with a por to their beads, that they understood our insti | of its production. The very next step must, ulation of thirteen millions, our exports are retutions better than we did ourselves, and un- of course, annihilate the trade by rendering it duced to seventy two millions. dertook to create a splendid manufacturing unprofitable to all concerned. Sir, there may Thus, while our population has increased talten one half.

try in desolation and ruin? Are we to be driven cent., if the whole duty were added to the general welfare? condition, that the government was obliged to eighteen millions of dollars, while we all know from the pursuits of our choice, in order to price. But whether the tax be in general paid find a market, not for one, but two millions have be eto ore furnished promote the industry of the manufactures? by the producer or the consumer, or be divi- of bales. The whole South would then, in say on this branch of the subject, I must take what did they do. They considerably reduced an abundant supply for every purpose, in-

> with our northern brethren for protected articles, the increased price of which would be equal to

the duty, this would be eign exchanges, in order to render profitable The remaining two millions being exchanged maintained at all, is it not, by that fact, put nations. Sir, the restrictive policy is founded seek their own road to perfections—and, fix what standard you will the manufacturing industry of the North .- for unprotected articles, a tax of one milion beyond dispute, that but for the sellish principle. It as- God, the night is passing away, and we have my life upon it we shall have a surplus, and Taxed, I will not say to what extent—but pre- would be paid on the consumption by our would be still further reduced? Gentlemen summer to preoisely to the amount of the duty imposed for Southern and Western brethren. From this take it for granted that the competition among wards each other is one of enmity and vide for some new and grand scheme of protection, and the price added to the domes state of the case it would follow, that, if the the foreign manufacturers is not sufficiently ship, founded on a supposed opposition of in- finally triumph. The political economist is national excenditure. Besides, against actic article, whatever these may be. It is said, consumer pays the whole tax, we would pay great to reduce the price to the very lowest terests. The doctrine of the world; and, cidental deficient provision ir. that the consumer pays the tax, and that as consumers three millions out of these four rate. They even tell us of combinations at that, what was gained by one nation, was ne- in this instance at least, men will not "prefer will be found in the uncalled for appropriathe tariff States pay their full portion of the imposed upon the foreign articles received in mong them to keep up their prices. Sir, such cessarily lost by another. tax on their consumption. Sir, I think this exchange for our productions, though we combinations are utterly impossible. How The plain and seemingly obvious truth, that said, in after times, that the statesmen of Having shown the extent to which the rivemay be well doubted our habits are differ. should consume only half of them. But if we are the manufacturers of iron in Sweden, in a fair and equal exchange of commodities, America were benind the age in which they are differ. should consume only half of them. But if we are the manufacturers of iron in Sweden, in a fair and equal exchange of commodities, America were benind the age in which they are differ. ent. A South Carolina farmer, whose crop is take it for granted that the tax cannot be ad- Russia, and England, or the cotton and silk all parties gained, is a noble discovery of the lived-that they initiated this young and vig sider the mode in which that reduction ought worth a thousand dollars, sends, perhaps, the ded to the price, we would of course get back manufacturers of France, to enter into a com dern times. The first scheme suggested whole of it to market and exchanges it for no part of the duties paid at the custom house; bination? The thing is ridiculous. No, sir, ally led to commercial rivalries, war, and aba- ing practices of European Nations—and that, by the gentlemen, is a continuance of xisforeign productions, paying, it may be, a duty and in that case we should bear the whole world were ti g duties on the unprotee ed articles, and of fifty per cent. His tax would be five hun then. It has been said that the duties on im would be reduced to their minimum, and looking to us for an example, we arrayed our car ying up t e duties on protected articles to dred dollars; the northern or western farmer ported articles fall chiefly on the merchant and much lower than they are now in this country, vantage to be wrested from others by fraud selves in the cast off follies and exploded er prohibition. The gentleman says, however, raising produce to the value of a thousand the foreign manufacturer; but I hold this reason, and this only, that be is not in favour of this scheme, hedollars, will consume nine hundred of it on he impossible, for surely two or the ee per cent., the manu acturers are protesting against it. - secure them to their own subjects; and when of a vile system of artificial stimulants and po cause he would put the manufacturers on their his farm, and exchange but a hundred for is the utmost reduction that can be made from But, sir, where is the evidence to be found they once set out in this wrong direction, it lities gamiling, impaired the healthful vigor good behaviour, by exposing them to foreign foreign articles, and be subjected to a duty of the profits of the merchant, and not much that the tariff has produced any reduction was quite natural that they should not stop of the body politic, and brought on decrept competition. But what sort of competition only \$50 .- This difference of habits between | more could be taken of from those of the min | whatever, in the bonus | tude and premature dissolution. the different parts of the country, is greater unacturer. Indeed, how could it be expected Is there any other foundation for the assertion of restrictions, not only the whole country, but I had intended, Mr. President, to have said treached behind a protecting tariff, ranging than would be supposed possible. I have that the American demand for British manu than this: that the prices of cottons, wooliens, li of its parts. Thus we are told that Eng. something of the constitutional question, but from fifty to two hundred per cent I have known a swealthy planter in the neighborhood factures would materially affect their price, and iron, have already taken up so much of your time, shewn that the existing duties are, to a cerof Charleston, that did not raise a single arti when not more, probably, than a twentieth all other articles have likewise fallen, protect and when the goal ecle that was not sent to foreign markets, and part of the whole finds a market on this count ed and unprotected. Real and personal es Great Britain against the colonies, then the permitted, however, to remark, that the gen- man declares himself against probition, he who purchased every thing that was consum- try. It is on the American producer, there tate, cotton, flour, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other, and tobacco, all -all have British isles against each other. ed by himself or his slaves. His cloth from fore, that this tax must chiefly fall. Sir, the gone down; and most of them have fallen in by vainly attempting to protect all the great | jection to the protecting system is of recent | which proposes to retain the existing system England, his wines from France, his horses, duties upon imports are either paid by the con a much greater degree than woollens, cottons, intererts and employments of the state by bal origin. Up to 1824, the question had not untouched, prohibitions and all mules and hogs from the west-his corn from summer or they are not. If they are paid by and iron. Has the tariff done all this? What ancing them against each other schemes advocated by Maryland-wooden ware, potatoes, and other bim, I have shown that the far greater portion say the gentlemen? I have here a price cur- system, carried fully out, is not confined to ri- protection which manufactures had derived the gentleman himself. To take off the dunotions, from New England; and I assure of the duties on the goods received in exchange rent contaming the prices of 250 articles, in val nations, but protects one town against a- was merely incidental to duties imposed for ties entirely from all the unprotected articles our New England friends, that although we for our cotton falls upon the planter, and that 1816 and 1831. From this it appears that nother, considers villages, and even them as do not relish all of their notions, there are some for this he receives no remuneration whatever there has been an univerversal reduction in as rivals and cannot stop short of "Robinson character; and even the act of 1816 provided they are upon the protected articles. If the duties are not paid by the consumer- the price of articles of every description, and Crus in his goat skins." It takes but one for a diminution, and not an increase of duties. The first objection to this scheme is, that it But, sir, if the consumer did, in every case, that is to say, if they are not added to the that those admitted duty free have been re- step further to make every man his own law. But when, in 1824, the true character of this is proposed by it to take off only \$6,000,000 say the whole amount of the fax, and the con price—then it is manifest that the whole a duced, at least, in an equal ratio with those ver, doctor, farmer, and shoemaker—and, if I system was developed, the constitutional ob- of taxes, even after the Treasury is to be resumption was in exact proportion to the popul mount of duties falls t pon us without the post paying duties. Indeed sir, I think that a care may be allowed an Irishism, his own seam jection was plainly and strongly invisted upon. lieved from a charge of \$12,000,000 by the lation, could gentlemen even then fail to see sibility of relieving ourselves from any part of ful examination of this table will show, that I myself, held extinction of the public debt. That if prothe wide difference in the operation of the pro- the kurden. As to the popular notion that all reduction in the protected articles has not of tecting system on the two sections, when they consumers must pay equally, I will ask any been so great as in the others. But the re- the true social system. It looks on all man- "Will gentlemen point out to me, if they \$6,000,000 beyond the wants of the Governconsider that the tariff States are remunerated. gentleman to tell me how it is with those who duction has not been confined to this country kind as children of a common parent—and can, the power which this government possess ment, not only without the smallest necessity, and more than remunerated, for any tax which consume the tax? Here is a tax of sixteen mil It has taken place in England, and all over the great family of n thous as linked together es to adopt a system for the avowed purpose but with the certain effect of changing the they may pay, in the bounties they receive, lions imposed directly or indirectly upon sou- the world, in an equal, nay, in a greater de by mutual interests. Sir, as there is a reli- of encouraging particular branches of indus character of your Government, and corrupting while we receive no remuneration whatever. there production. Fourteen millions of this gree. The very articles most highly protect gion, so I believe there is a politics of nature. try. It is my soher and deliberate opinion, the people. Why is this surplus to be creat-If this be doubted, I will apply a test, which, I smount are transferred to the north, and there ed in this country, cottons, wooliens, and iron. Cast your eyes over this various earth—see its that the Congress of the United States have no ed? Has the gentleman given a single reathink, cannot possibly deceive us. Do our consumed. Are the consumers of these four- are now selling in England much lower than surface diversified with hills and valleys, rocks, more power to pass laws for the purpose of son in its favor; or has he not himself sealed New England brethren not understand their teen millions taxed on their consumption paid they can be obtained here. This is a fact per- and fertile fields. Notice its different product directly or indirectly inducing any portion of the condemnation of his arm proposition, when own interests? Do you think, sir, that they as highly as those who have the whole a- feetly notorious to every importing merchant, tions, its infinite varieties of soil and climate. the people to engage in manufactures, than he adm ted that no surphis might to be creat-

men, sit, who have undertaken to prove that now she is looking to this as a possible event | terest of capital; and how can these be lessen. | freedom, says on this subject-

market for seven hundred thousand bales of plained. It depends on general causes, which do very well, if all nations would adopt it; but niversally entertained throughout the whole the means of escape; and I must presume, that the protection of the protecting system involves a last it is, every nation must protect itself from South, that the protecting system involves a be carried on between the Southern States by countervailing gross violation of the solumn compact which is There are four ways, said the senator, by and Great Britain—that is to say, that the ar South in irretrievable ruin. It is idle for gen- subject, which has taken place in Great Bri- measures. I am persuaded, sir, that it is a the bond of our Union. which the South may avoid the tax. First, fieles on both sides were admitted duty free. He were admitted duty free. "by abstaining from the purchase of foreign ar In this state of things a progressive tax, equal formish a home market for all the cotton of the purchase of producing cy which ought to be adopted at this impor-But, sir, we cannot do without them; to five per cent. per annum, is imposed on South. Two or three hundred thousand bales machinery, and general restoration of peace. a redress of the grievance, and while adhered that era in the history of our Government and this trade, moreover, furnishes the only British manufactures for the protection of our is the utmost extent to which we could find a The resumption of specie payments, and the to no longer than there is a hope of success, it We have arrived at a most interesting crisis market for our productions. To adopt this own. The first duty of five per cent. would, market for our productions. To adopt this own. The first duty of five per cent. would, market for our productions. To adopt this own. The first duty of five per cent. would, market for our productions. To adopt this own. The first duty of five per cent. would, market in that quarter. 'i he caralogue of diminished supply of the precious metals, is may, like war itself, be sometimes just and no in our national affairs—one to which the Periods alternative would be to seal our ruin. Second- doubtless, be added to the price Before this the evils of this system, however, is not yet calculated to have been looking up with intense anxiety ly, said the gentleman, "employ the rivel Ame. progressive duty had advanced many steps, completed. It is not merely the mischief it medium to the amount of upwards of £500, the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the progressive duty had advanced many steps, completed. It is not merely the mischief it medium to the amount of upwards of £500, the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the progressive duty had advanced many steps, completed. It is not merely the mischief it medium to the amount of upwards of £500, the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the progressive duty had advanced many steps. The unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the progressive duty had advanced many steps. The unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the unprofitable combat of seeing which can have contemned to the unprofitable combat of the unprofitabl could take our cotton in exchange for his pro- ditional charge could be sustained by the con- threatens, but it has arrested our march to been, within the last ten years, the reduction hardly be conceived in which permanent res the great day of jubilee, when they were to be ductions, which he cannot do, except to a ve- summer without a reduction of his consump- greatness, and prevented us from the oppressions which they have by limited extent, we should pay as heavy a tion. The next five per cent. to which fifteen per cent. The Prople of the per cent. The per cent. The per cent. to which fifteen per cent. to which fifteen per cent. The per cent. tax, in the price of the domestic, as in the would have to be sustained by the merchant condition of this country now, if we had never may be added for the South, Sir. like the children of Island of daty on the foreign fabric; for no one will or the foreign manufacturer, or the producer been deprived of the blessings of free trade of the blessings of the whole a reduction or it is not. This can only be decided by ex- old have passed through the wilderness, and pretend, that if the quality he the same, there of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports of the grality he the grality he the grality he the grality he the same, there of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports | of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports | of the cotton, and would most probably be di | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports | of the cotton, and would most probably be did | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports | of the cotton, and would most probably be did | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports | of the cotton, and would most probably be did | Why is it that our tonnage and our exports | of the cotton, and would most probably be did | who is the cotton of the cotton would be any difference of price in the Ameri- | vided among them. In this manner, as the have not grown with our growth, and strengthe all articles. The same thing has taken place itself: water would not more naturally seek stand on the top of Mount Pisgab, and look can market. Thirdly, "manufacture for our system progressed the profits of the mer ened with our strength. It is breaker our list level, than the intercourse adjust itself to with delight, at the goodly prospect before Sir, we cannot manufacture. Except chant would be reduced to the lowest scale; prosperity has been blasted by the restrictive manufactures has the true interests of the parties. Sir, as to them and it is for you this day to determine. as to a few coarse articles, slave Labour is ut. this picture. In 1819. tailen, the naked fact proves nothing, unless this idea of the regulation by government of whether they shall perish in the wilderness, or terly incapable of being applied to such an down, and the Southern producer would, in with a population of seven mellions, web da they can show that they have fallen in a great the pursuits of men, I consider it as a remnant be permitted to possess and enjoy their rich Slaves are too improvident, too in his turn, be compelled to submit to a reduction for the shole slaves are too improvident, too in his turn, be compelled to submit to a reduction for the whole

capable of that minute, constant, delicate at tion in the price of his productions. Each In 1831, with a population of that minute, constant, delicate at tion in the price of his productions. Each In 1831, with a population of the first principles system of duties is oppressive and unequalfrom being the fact, that the truth is, that of rational liberty. I hold government to be that the very action of the Government is sothe protected articles have fallen less in pro utterly incapable, from its position, of exerci- yet I do not wish, gentlemen to suppose that ersion than those which receive no protection. | sing such a power wisely, prudently, or justly | we are disposed to push our claims to an unof on is a striking example, which has, in a Are the rulers of the world the depositories of reasonable extent. No, we will not ask that is y years, frien to one third of its value, while its collected wisdom? Sir, can we forget the northern manufactures shall be taxed, because no pretected article has, in the same period, advice of a great statesman to his son-"Go, duties, to whatever extent imposed, operate as establishment in the district represented by be a difference of opinion as to the point to nearly threefold, our foreign commerce best a frust, sir, that we have now made out our foreign commerce best at the revenue necessary for the ordinary for the profit. my distinguished and valued friend, [Mr. Mc- which we have shown the unjust and un- And is our own government an exception to nary purposes of the Government shall be le. Duffie.] It was accordingly put into opera this system, for let it be remembered that the frade system had continued unto this day, equal operation, in every point of view, of this frade system had continued unto this day, equal operation, in every where view by duties upon imports. The facility tion, but had gone on but a short time, when system is still progressing) but to my mind it (for be it remembered that Alexander Hanr system, and that, as far as the South is con else, that one of the slaves was tempted to make free is clear that we have long since passed the ilton's protecting system was essentially a system was esse

with the goods, and, to prevent detection. point at which any further reduction of profits tem of free trade, imposing duties only of same degree; it is an unmitigated system of burnt up the whole establishment. It might could possibly be extorted from five to seven and a half per cent.) can burdens. And, even with regard to the fabe supposed, sir, that the people of South or the manufacturer; and that every successive it be doubted that we should now have had a vored section, I would submit, how far it is Carofina would not have have been inclined increase of the tax, for years past, has fallen tonnage of two millions and a half, and that wise to invist upon a system which can only be to punish such an offence with great severity, almost exclusively upon the producer. our exports would have amounted to one hun- maintained at the expense of other sections. and if the culprit had escaped, I presume The proof of this is to be found in the fact dred and fifty millions. I am told that one of Sir, I feel too much contidence in the justice we should not have heard the end of it. Not that cotton has, within a few years, been grad- the ablest financiers in this country has recent- and magnanismity of our Northren brethren to gainst him. There have been grad- the ablest financiers in this country has recentso Sir, however. We have a law which pun- ually falling, until it has lest more than two ly declared that he should consider an aver suffer inyself to doubt their willingness gainst him. They have had restrictions e- delet, the twelve millions of dollars heretofore ishes arson, whether committed by a black, or thirds of its value, and new barely pays the rage duty of twelve or officen per cent. adva to abandon this system if they could see it la sick of them and in France of the sound of white man, with death. The offender was expense of its production, bringing down with lorem as abundantly sufficient for all the pur in the light that we do. It may enrich them by sick of them, and in England, particularly, no longer be levied; and, further, that no brought to trial, and being convicted on the it the wages our agricultural labor and capital poses of revenue; and that, under such a sys- for the moment, but the prosperity it creates is would willingly get rid of them, if they could clearest proof, suffered the penalty of the law to the very lowest point. Some gentlemen in- tem, our imports and exports would, in his o- artificial, and will assueredly be unsubstantial. And, Sir, to show how little justice is some- sist that the Southern producer now hears pinion, exceed a hundred millions of dollars No country can be permanently benefitted by a Minister of the Crown, from his place in the Government. Any other basis of reductimes meted out to the South, I will state nearly the whole of the tax, while the gentle the very first year. I know, Mr. President, a system of bounties. This system may des founded on the idea the fact, that since I arrived here, I have men on the other side contend that it is a max- that the fact, that since I arrived here, I have men on the other side contend that it is a max- that the fact, that since I arrived here, I have men on the other side contend that it is a maxseen an account of this transaction in print, im universally true that the "consumer pays under which the South is suffering arise from advance the prosperity of the North. It may that country, that the true policy of all nations penditures. And why should they be increased. headed, with large capitals, "CRUELTY the tax." I am inclined to think that the truth the over-production of cotton; but this is not depress us, but cannot elevate them. Besides, in England they TO SLAVES," and representing that a poor lies in the middle. I can certainly conceive a so. Cotton is an article the production of sir, if preserved in, it must annihilate that pornegro had recently been hanged in South state of things in which the producer would, which the resources and endeavouring to releive themselves of the country from which the resources past, have Carolina, for burning down a building by ac as such, pay nearly the whole of the tax; but, of all known raw materials. It is fast super are to be drawn, that are to enrich the North system as fast as they can. Within a few been connected with preparations for war, but sident. I think, Sir, the gentleman will now except where the tax is a very moderate one, seding silk, wool, hemp, and flax, all over the ren manufacturers. And it may be well for years past, upwards of three hundred statutes, with the progress of our works of defence, & himself admit, that to embrace this proposition or is imposed upon the absolute necessaries of world. As a proof of this, I will advert to the gentlemen to reflect, whether adhering to hope repeated and a country, have the increase of our population, the necessaries of bone repeated and a country, have the increase of our population, the necessaries of bone repeated and a country, have the increase of our population, the necessaries of bone repeated and a country to the increase of our population. would only be, to use an old adage; "jump- life, it is impossible that the whole of the fact, that, during a period in England, when this policy, would not be acting like the man been repealed; and a case has recently occur- for this expenditure will, in a great measure ing out of the frying pan into the fire.—The weight could be thrown upon the consumer. her woollen manufactures advanced from five who "killed the goose which laid the golden red there, which seems to leave no doubt that cease. Indeed it does appear to me that it last remedy suggested by the gentleman, is No one, surely, would contend that it any millions of pounds sterling to six, the cotton eggs." Let gentlemen be assured, that this if Great Britain has grown great, it is, as Mr. will be bardly necessary, hereafter, to seek that we should "supply ourselves with house community were in the habit of consuming manufactures progressed from one million to is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will, it is a system which cannot possibly last. It will be held manufactures." What, Sir, give up our fifty millions of foreign goods, imported duty more than thirty. If you would take off your sooner or later, be utterly overthrown. Would guence of, but in spite of their restrictions." found in the strong arms and stout hearts of foreign trade? Abandon our agricultural free, they could afford to consume any thing duties, and throw open to us the markets of it not be well, therefore, for them to seize this pursuits, and involve the whole southren coun like the same amount under a duty of 50 per the world, American cottons would, to a great favourable occasion to make some sacrifice of bounties, was found to be in such a declining that our revenue shall not be re luced below

The case which I have stated, of the bale ded between them, to my mind it is clear that deed, become a "garden spot." But it is in the liberty of presenting a few general consid- the day on foreign sike, both on the raw mate- cluding a million a year for internal improveof woollens, illustrates the unequal operation in the actual condition of things, the burden sisted by the supporters of the protecting systeman admits that we ought of this system upon the agricultural industry falls most unjustly and unequally on the Sou tem, that i's only effect is to make our goods never can be expedient to introduce into a sequence was, the immediate evival of the silk not to provide for a surp'us; and says, with of the south, and the manufacturing industry | thern States. I will illustrate this. We will country the manufacture of any article that of the north. What is true of a single bale, assume that South Carolina annually exchan | cannot be produced as cheaply at home as it can | bled. to true of the whole amount of foreign impor ges eight millions of dollars' worth of cotton selves would be the very first to abandon the be obtained from abroad. There are some such | Sir, the experience of France is equally de- all sound principles of government. For, tations which are taxed for the protection of and rice for foreign goods, paying a duty of system. Their object, certainty, is not to now made in this country, and the gentleman, "to give it back to the the domestic manufacture-true of the eight fifty per cent., equal to four millions of dol lessen, but to increase their prices. Even if sustain themselves without protection, is un- and sugar has cost that country mi lions; and, States or the individuals from whom it was millions of imports received in exchange for lars. Now, suppose the consumer to pay the this were the case, however, I am unable to questionable. The only exception I would be the productions of South Carolina and of the whole tax, how would the account stand? As discover how the cotton planter could be come ad nit to the rule I have fail down, relates to the iron mines apread devastation through palpable absurdity while, to distribute it in forty millions received in exchange for the sume that no more than one half our importa- pensated for the loss of his market. How is articles strictly necessary to national defence. half of France, and nearly reined the wine different proportions, would be an act of gross productions of the plantation States, or at least tions are consumed at home, say \$4,000,000 this supposed reduction to be brought about the habitiments of a soldier, trade, on which one-fifth of her citizens de-linjustice." I submit whether this argument of so much thereof as embrace the protected by competition, say the gentlemen, between or to articles necessary to his consumption, pend for subsistence. As to Spain, unapply is not equally applicable to internal improve the British and American manufacturer. But but to arms and munitions of war. It is the Spain, "fenced round with restrictions," her ments. But, waising this point, I would ask, duction of prices, the manuscruter, on both can by cheapest." This is the very instanct of vince us, if any thing could, that the protectsides, must be put on an equal footing .- our nature and when we depart from it in na- ing system in policies, like bigotry in religion, than the ordinary expenditures of the govern-What sort of competition is that which is fountional concerns, we violate the soundest printional concerns, we visit to the soundest printional concerns, we vio

favor of one of the parties-and if, in spite in fact but the lessons of wisdom and an en- the words of the philosophical statesman of tain that your receipts must exceed your esti-\$3,000,000 of such a discrimination, the contest can be lightened experience applied to the affairs of England, "leave a generous nation free to mates—the reduction of duties will increase

"Man, proud man, Robed in a little brief authority,

As make the Angels weep."

darkness rather than light." Sir, let it not be tions, always to be found in the Treasury.

and I have abundant evidence of it now in my See the mighty rivers winding their way to they have to abolish trial by jury, or establish ed for distribution; for if it is not to be in some

comes it, then, that they have been taught to man, to the vast ocean, dividing, yet connecting | Since that period, the Legislatures of every rais d? The next objection to this scheme believe that "taxation is no tyranny," but on the system to the South, there are greater still in the last year, in Philadelphia, New York, nations. Can any man who considers these Southern State have denounced this system as is, that it proposes to relieve luxuries from all the contrary, the greatest of earthly blessing? -in prospect. We are seriously threatened and elsewhere, and after paying duties of from things with the eye of a philosopher, not read the wolation of their constitutional rights. It taxation, while the taxes on the necessaries Why is it, that they would regard as the hear with the entire loss of the foreign markets for fifty to one hundred per cent., have been sold design of the great Creator (written legibly was but the last year, that South Carolina re- of life are to remain just as they are; sunjet viest of calamities, the reduction of the public our productions. All trade is but an exchange as low as the domestic manufacture. Sir, I in this work)that his children should be drawn corded on the journals of the Senate, her so to duties of from 50 to 100 per cent. It is burthens? Is it not clear, then, that they re- of equivalents, and is founded on the maxim ascertained, before I tell home, that the whole together in a free commercial intercourse, and lemn protest against it "as utterly unconstitue true that the gentleman, seeing, I presume, the duties as a bounty to their industry, of "give and take." If you exclude British quantity of cotton goods imported into Charles mutual exchanges of the various gifts with industry, of the proposition in its original and that they know that they have the pow- goods from our market, you, in effect, exclude toa during the last year, paid an average du | which a bountiful Providence has blessed them | such an abuse of power as is incompatible with form, now consents that some very moderate er to indemnify themselves for all that they our cotton from their markets. It is in vain ty of fifty per cent., and then they were sold Commerce sir, restricted even as she has been, the principles of a free government and the outy may be fevied on wines and silks. But. to tell us that England must have our cotton, as low as American sottons of the same quali- has been the great ends of civil society." I do not know, sir, I should be glad to know, in what wines But, sir, there is another view of this matter You may force her to do without it Even ty. But I am really ashamed to argue a questional objections to and like differ from the numerous other arwhich demonstrates, I think still more plainly, now she supplies herself, to a great extent, ion so self evident. How can taxes possibly | Caristian religion, I consider FREE TRADE in this system are better summed up, than in the ticles which, by the gentleman's scheme are the inequality of the system. I allude to its from other countries; from the East India lessen prices? How can protection diminish its largest sense as the greatest blessing that very address of the Free Trade Convenvention to come in do y free. Here is a list of some effect upon the people of the South, s pro- possessions, Egypt, Braz l, and elsewhere; and the cost of Philadelphia, to which the gentleman has of them, and it will be for the Senate and the ducers of the articles which are exchanged to: | you will make it her interest, in the end, to ments of price? Are they not the cost of the great orator of leferred for another purpose. The gentleman | country to say how far it is reasonable or just. foreign commodities. There are very acte give up the American trade entirely. Even raw material—the wag sof labor—and the in- Virginia, whose soul was the very temple of is certainly mistaken, who he relies on that the consumers of these articles shall exposition as an authority in his favor. Sir, as contribute nothing to the public revenue. we suffer from this system chiefly in our char You find her encouraging the production of ed by a tax on the article? To say so, is to a while the houest laboring man is to be taxed acter as producers. To my mind, it is mo at cotton in the East Indies, by a discriminating reverse all the rules of proportion. Gentle- man is in chains, he droops and bows to the that incidental protection may be afforded by from 80 to 100 dollars on every hundred dolly certain that the people of the South, ei h duty to which you have forced her, and stim men might as well contend that two added to earth, because his spirite are broken, but let duties imposed merely for revenue, but that lars which he expends on the woollens, and as producers or consumers, support a but e ulating the production of the article in South five make three, as that fifty per cent, added him twist the fetters from his legs, and he will the right is expressly denied of "imposing any the flannels, the iron and the sugar, which are nearly, if not entirely, equal to the whole a America, where she is furnished with a mar to the cost of an imported article, tessons its stand erect. Fetter not commerce. Let her additional duty for the purpose of affording indispensable to the bealth and comfort or mount of the tax levied on their importations. ket for her manufactures, almost duty free .- price. If gentlemen can believe this, they be as free as the air. She will range the that protection." I dismiss this branch of the himself and family. The precise manner in which this operates is Can we then, be blind to the fate that awaits may believe any thing. But the truth is, M: whole creation, and return on the four winds subject, with the remark, that whether we be the grandest farces ever at

see the work! my son, that you may learn a tax upon our industry. We are willing to with which indirect taxes may be collected affords an argument in their favour to which we are willing to yield, though we well know that Plays such fantastic tricks before high they must operate most injuriously on our interests. But, in yielding this much, we have sarely a right to expect that no more money shall be levied in this way than shall be at-The gentleman has appealed to the exam- so.utely necessary. We think we have a right more money shall be raised than may be ne-We have been assured by the declaration of cessary to meet the ordinary expenditures of mong the States would be a departure from

is that to which they are exposed, when en-

poses, therefore, to create an annual surplus of shape distributed, for what purpose is it to be

a problem not so easy of solution. I will en- us when the American System shall be con- President, this whole matter of the reduction, this whole matter of the reduction, tempted to be played off upon a free people;